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1. World War II has placed the Russian emigre Socialists (Mensheviks) in a peculiar situation. The old Social Democratic Party, composed mostly of intellectuals and old-time politicians has had no new members or young blood and has gradually disintegrated. This is partly because the party is a purely Russian one with Russian aims and partly because they refused to join the international Socialist movement. Only the left wing has maintained a loose liaison with the SPFO (Dan-Zyronski). When Dan's group around the "Novi Put" left the delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1940 in Paris and joined the group of Soviet fellow travelers, the Mensheviks limited their activities to observation and analysis of political development. The Novi Put group disbanded after Dan's death in New York in 1946, and its members joined the Communists.
2. The Mensheviks' formerly close contact with the Jewish Bund has become loose. Contact with the Polish Socialist Party is practically non-existent because the Mensheviks have suspected its leaders. These suspicions were justified when Arski and his consorts went over to the Communists.
3. The Menshevik and Social Democratic effort was centered not on general socialistic problems but on the Russian question. They tried to obtain sympathy from the Americans for the Russian nation and stressed the point that most Russians are opposed to Communism and cannot be held responsible for the Kremlin's policy.
4. The recent influx of disaffected Soviets has created a new problem for the Democrats, mainly the Socialists, who are in charge of the new political program. Present plans must be adjusted to the current political situation and the new party platform must also be defined. The disaffected have had to be screened, organized and integrated into a new large-scale Russian democratic movement outside the USSR which could become an instrument for the fight against the USSR.
5. The Russian Socialists, whose principles are based on the western ideas of a democratic socialistic movement, are very critical of the European version of Socialism and of its international institutions. Bitter experience during their

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emigration period, plus the influence of the anti-Communist and anti-Stalin disaffected elements, are making them more Russian-minded. In consideration of these problems, the Mensheviks are exploring the following questions:

- (a) the international socialistic movement
- (b) the general political situation
- (c) the formation of a new political platform for the Foreign Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (Mensheviks).

25X6 6. The Russian Socialists are asking why it is not possible to create from the remaining bits of the Workers' International a new International Socialist Organization, and why [redacted] (a powerful force in the International Socialist Conference) objects to the concentration of Socialist groups in Europe. The Mensheviks find the answers to these questions in the history of the Socialist movement, somewhere between the two world wars when the elements of socialism were formed.

7. In the first phase of the Second International, socialism was more ideological than political and the Socialists contended that the workers do not and should not have a country of their own. This proved to be a bad idea -- from the beginnings of the 19th century, workers have identified themselves with their countries and have taken an active part in their countries' political life through political parties and trade unions. In 1914, for example, the German Socialists declared their support of the Kaiser's Government.

8. [redacted]

9. [redacted]

25X6 10. The International Socialist movement is disintegrating. Groups which still exist on an international scale are:

- (a) The International Committee of the Socialist Conference in which are represented the 16 Marshall Plan nations;
- (b) A newly organized Socialist Bureau which groups the emigre Socialist Parties from central and southeastern Europe; the emigre groups from the Baltic nations also wish to join the Bureau.

The Russian Socialists stand completely apart.

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11. The Mensheviks have often stressed the fact that the European Socialist movement is disintegrating but only quite recently did they clearly state that [redacted] primarily with its own national interests in view. From the Socialist and nationalist point of view, the Russian Socialists consider the present political situation this way:

- (a) The world is faced with two problems, social and political. The postwar division of forces has created a new international problem: the powerful, independent political forces in Germany, Japan and Italy have disappeared and the USSR has grown to gigantic proportions. The social problem is concerned primarily with the destruction caused by the war which everywhere has created acute social changes and started a struggle for a new distribution of material and cultural goods. The Russian problem emanates from the gradual degeneration of the ideals of the Russian Revolution, from lack of contact between the Government and the Russian nation, and from the aggressive attitude adopted by the Soviet Union toward the rest of the world.
- (b) The problem of war and peace and of economic equilibrium is closely tied to the Russian problem, and the outlook for Russian political and economic development is also dependent upon world reconstruction. This mutual dependency is a completely new factor. The USSR is at present in China and on the Mediterranean; it has occupied eastern Europe and is after the Middle East and Africa. It is the world's most powerful potential buyer, causing great concern among the capitalist nations. The world's economic future depends upon trend of relations between the USSR and other nations.
- (c) Postwar conditions the world over are unstable, with international differences growing between the democratic countries and the Soviet Union. There is continuous threat of another war. There is also a growing social struggle in the most important European countries -- England, France and Italy; the struggle is also expressed in the new wave of strikes in the US. The internal situation in the former Asiatic colonies is becoming more and more tense. And the UN is unable to solve these problems.

Lack of stability also characterizes the Soviet sphere, with relations between the Soviet Government and the Russian people bad, causing widespread dissatisfaction on one hand and a growth of terrorism on the other. The differences between the interests of the "privileged" in the USSR and the wide masses of the population are becoming more and more acute, and the people are being forced to work against their will. Conflicts between the individual nationalistic groups within the Soviet Union are growing and becoming apparent.

- (d) The coming period will witness a dual fight: a political fight against communism in most of the democratic countries and a fight between the democratic system of government and the Soviet bloc. This conflict started shortly after World War I and was the real cause of World War II, which ended in victory of the democracies and defeat of the totalitarian systems, leaving only the Soviet dictatorship. The struggle will not end until the ideas of democracy embrace the entire world. The struggle against classes will continue in the social sphere. In the capitalistic and democratic countries, this fight will be open and well organized; in dictatorial systems, it will be secret and will involve political plotting.
- (e) The true sense of the political and social fight is expressed by the desire to establish a peace based on democratic principles. Such peace is impossible in the USSR under the present regime. On the other hand, the rest of the world cannot dream of a permanent peace as long as there exists a country as powerful as the USSR, spread over two continents and governed by a dictatorship. The strain caused by such a system inside and outside of the USSR must inevitably lead either to a revolutionary crisis or to war. The atomic bomb may hasten the process. There will either be a revolution and then a war, or a war which will start a revolution. The latter is more likely.

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- (f) The Russian political and social problems before the first revolution called for liquidation of the monarchy and of the nobility which was considered the social cornerstone of monarchy. The same problems can now be solved by abolishing the Soviet dictatorship and its high bureaucracy. Liquidation of the dictatorship would benefit the entire world.
12. The last "platform" of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party was published in 1925 and means nothing. A new platform is needed for the members and sympathizers of the party and for the hundreds of thousands of Russians of the new emigration who know nothing of the objectives and history of the Socialist movement. A platform, not a program, is necessary; a platform can give an accurate description of the present political and social questions as well as formulate the objectives for the immediate future. The emigration cannot form one single anti-Soviet front; the Socialists must separate themselves from the non-Communist and the non-democratic factions. Among the new emigration are many young people who want to fight the Bolsheviks. Their enthusiasm must be carefully watched to prevent their becoming victims of adventurers from various monarchist and reactionary groups or Soviet provocateurs.
13. The conflict between the western nations and the Soviet Union has attained international significance. Contrary to the Soviet theory, it is not a conflict between socialism and capitalism. There are many western countries with entirely socialistic governments and there are also some classic capitalist states. All are united in common defense against Soviet aggression. The West cannot be identified with capitalism, nor can the East stand for socialism and revolution. The European socialistic movement is facing a grave crisis because of the existence of Communist parties in the USSR and outside. Instead of working toward its objectives, socialism must now retreat to defend the political liberties and national independence essential to the socialistic system. The most important problem at present is to defend the democracies against the territorial aggression of the USSR.
14. Subjugation of the Russian nation to Communist dictatorship was completed in 1930; since then the Kremlin has been more active externally than internally. The people are being exploited, their total national income being used for war industry, upkeep of secret police and maintenance of Communist parties both inside and out of the USSR.

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